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ART. II.—*Letters to the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, by W. MORLEY, Esq., and PROFESSOR DUNCAN FORBES, on the Discovery of part of the Second Volume of the “Jámi al Tawárikh,” supposed to be lost.*

LETTER OF MR. MORLEY.

Read June 15, 1839.

MY DEAR SIR,

Whilst I was engaged last year in making a catalogue of the Oriental MSS. comprised in the libraries of the Society and the Oriental Translation Committee, I met with the historical MS. which is the subject of the following letter¹. I, at that time, applied to the Council of the Society for permission to forward a description of the MS. to M. Quatremère, who is employed in editing the only portion of the work hitherto known, in the hope that he would represent the matter to the French Government, and cause our MS. to be published in the “*Collection Orientale*,” as a sequel to his “*Histoire des Mongols*.” The council acceded to my request, and I accordingly wrote to M. Quatremère on the subject, but whether on account of my letter not having reached its destination or from the press of business, he has not as yet returned any answer to my communication. In the mean time, I think it desirable that the existence of this important volume should be made known to the public, and I have accordingly drawn up the following account of the MS. for insertion in the Journal of the Society.

Before describing the work, it may not be uninteresting to devote a few lines to the life of the author, one of the most extraordinary men of his age, and one who is surpassed by few Asiatics, either in his literary or political talents. I have taken most of my materials from the admirable preface to Quatremère's work; the costliness of the “*Collection Orientale*,” and the scarcity of the copies that have as yet reached this country, render it inaccessible to a large class of the reading public, and I think will make the following account acceptable to the readers of the Journal.

FADHL ALLAH RASHÍD, or Rashíd al Dín Ibn Imád al Daulah Abú al Khair Ibn Mowaffik al Daulah, was born at Hamadán, about the year of the Flight 645 (A.D. 1247). He was by profession a physician, and it was probably from his skill in the science of medicine, that he procured office under the Mongol Sultáns of Persia. We

¹ It is numbered 13 in my catalogue.

learn from his own testimony that he passed a portion of his life in the service of Abáká Khán and his successors, who all treated him with great distinction, but it does not appear that he held any important situation until the reign of Gházán Khán, who came to the throne in the 691th year of the Flight. This monarch duly appreciated Rashíd al Dín's great knowledge of science and literature, and in the course of the year of the Flight 697, raised him to the office of Vazír, in conjunction with Saad al Dín, in the place of Sadr al Dín Zinjání, otherwise called Sadr Jahán, who had incurred the Sultán's displeasure. In the year 700, a conspiracy was formed against the two Vazírs by several of the most powerful Amírs, but they failed in their object of prejudicing the mind of Gházán Khán against them, and two of their calumniators were put to death. On the death of Gházán Khán, his brother, Oljáitú, ascended the throne, and continued the office of the Vazárat to Rashíd al Dín and his companion. Oljáitú having founded the city of Sultániah, Rashíd al Dín built a suburb there, containing about one thousand houses, and comprising a mosque, a college, an hospital, and a monastery, all of which he endowed with considerable revenues.

Under the dynasty of the Mongols in Persia, Tabríz was one of the cities at which the court usually resided. Gházán Khán had surrounded it with walls, and had constructed without these a small town, and a splendid edifice which he designed as the place of his burial; Rashíd al Dín, in imitation of his royal master, built a suburb to the eastward of the city, and named it the Raba Rashídí', after himself. This suburb, according to all accounts, was built with the greatest magnificence, and was completed in the 710th year of the Flight, when Rashíd al Dín, at an enormous expense, caused a canal to be cut through the rock, in order to supply the inhabitants with water from the river Sarvrúd. It seems almost incredible that such costly works could have been constructed at the expense of a private individual, but Rashíd al Dín had passed fifty years at the Mongol court, and during that period had amassed immense wealth, which certainly could not have been better bestowed, or more liberally and usefully expended. In addition to the enormous sums that Rashíd al Dín had devoted to the construction of these great works, we learn from the author of the *Tárikhi Wassaf*, and Mírkhond says, that he had laid out no less a sum than 60,000 dínárs in the transcription, binding, &c., of his own writings.

In the year 711, Saad al Dín, our author's colleague, being jealous of the favour shown by the Sultán to Rashíd al Dín and Alí Sháh Jabalán (a person of low origin, but who, by his intrigues and

talents, had contrived to raise himself into consideration), quarrelled with his co-vazír, who subsequently denounced him, and caused him to be put to death. Alí Sháh was thereupon, at Rashíd al Dín's request, chosen as the successor of the late vazír.

In the year 715, Rashíd al Dín and Alí Sháh quarrelled with regard to the supplies of money required by Abú Saïd, the son of Oljáitú, and the Sultán, in order to put an end to their dispute, commanded that for the future, the provinces which composed the empire should be divided into two portions. Irák Ajam, Khúzistán, Greater and Lesser Lór, Fárs and Kirmán were united under the jurisdiction of Rashíd al Dín, whilst Irák Arab, Díarbakir, Arran and Rúm (Asia Minor), fell to the lot of Alí Sháh. Notwithstanding this arrangement, the two vazírs were still at enmity with each other, and shortly afterwards, a commission of inquiry, headed by the famous Amír Chúbán, was instituted, in which Alí Sháh and his deputies were declared defaulters to the amount of 300 tó máns, or three millions of pieces of gold; he proceeded to Oljáitú, and managed to appease him, together with Amír Chúbán; he then represented to the Sultán that Rashíd al Dín was using all his endeavours to degrade him in the eyes of his master and to cause his disgrace, as he had done with his former colleague, Saad al Dín. Rashíd al Dín hearing of this, employed counter intrigues, and succeeded in establishing his innocence.

Oljáitú dying at this interval, was succeeded by his son Abú Saïd; the Amír Chúbán was appointed Amír al Omrá, and the two vazírs were continued in office. The Amír Chúbán was, at this time, greatly attached to Rashíd al Dín, and Alí Sháh, fearing the consequences, lost no time in endeavouring to obtain his deposition; having united with several others of the nobles, particularly Abú Bakr Aká, the principal officer of Chúbán, they succeeded in prejudicing the Amír's mind against the old Vazír, who was accordingly removed from the office to which he had been for so many years an ornament, in the month Rajab, in the 717th year of the Flight.

The loss of his services was soon felt, and not long afterwards, Chúbán wrote to him with his own hand, begging him to return to the court from Tabríz, to which city he had retired when deprived of office. After much difficulty, he was prevailed upon to accept the Amír's offers, and was again reinstated in the vazárat.

Alí Sháh and his adherents no sooner learned this than they once more commenced their machinations against him, and Abú Bakr Aká was again the principal agent in the plot. They accordingly made an accusation to Abú Saïd, declaring that Rashíd al

Dín, immediately before Oljáitú's death, had prepared a poisoned beverage, which was administered to the late monarch by his orders, and by the hands of Ibráhím, the vazír's son, who was the cheif butler of Oljáitú; Abú Saíd instantly ordered Rashíd al Dín and his son to be brought to Sultániah, where they were interrogated before the Amír Chúbán. Jalál al Dín Ibn Harran, one of the physicans of the deceased Sultán, declared that he considered Oljáitú's death to have been caused by a purgative medicine administered to him by the order of Rashíd al Dín against his, Jalál al Dín's, express opinion and advice; this was conclusive, and the Amír Chúbán ordered the father and son to be immediately executed. Ibráhím, who was [but sixteen years old, and who is described as having been endowed with every excellence, both of body and mind, first underwent the sentence, and the unhappy Rashíd al Dín, after having witnessed the death of his son, was cloven in twain by Hajjí Dilkandí; this man had accepted the office of executioner, in order to gratify his revenge for some persecutions of the Alides attributed to Rashíd al Dín, Hajjí Dilkandí being himself a descendant of Alí. This tragical event took place on the 17th of Jumáda al Awwal, in the year of the Flight 718. The head of Rashíd al Dín was separated from his body and borne through the streets of Tabríz; his children and relations were despoiled of all their property, and the Raba Rashídí was given up to pillage.

The body of the murdered vazír was buried near the mosque which he had constructed in Tabríz, but by a strange fatality, it was not destined to repose quietly in this its last asylum, which his enemies had not dared to deny him. Nearly a century after his death, the government of Tabríz, together with that of the whole province of Azarbáiján, was given by Tímúr Lang to his son Mirán Sháh. This young prince, naturally of a mild disposition, had become partially deranged, in consequence of an injury of the head occasioned by a fall from his horse, and one day, during a temporary access of madness, he caused the bones of Rashíd al Dín to be exhumed, and they were finally deposited in the cemetery of the Jews¹.

Almost all those who had conspired to ruin Rashíd al Dín, perished in the course of the following year, and many of them by violent deaths; Alí Sháh, the one most deserving of punishment,

¹ Rashíd al Dín's enemies asserted, during his lifetime, that he was of Jewish extraction and religion, in order to render him odious to the Mustulmáns; this calumny was probably grounded upon the particular attention he had paid to the history and customs of the Jews, and accounts for the indignities practised towards his remains by Mirán Sháh.

alone survived to enjoy the fruits of his crime ; he continued to preserve his honours and the favour of his master, for the space of six years, when he died ; Alí Sháh was the only vazír, since the establishment of the Mongol monarchy, who died a natural death.

Hitherto we have seen Rashíd al Dín only as the vazír and the politician ; it remains to give some account of him as a man of letters, and here he shines no less pre-eminent than in his political career. Few men, even of those who have given up their whole lives to reading and research, could hope to attain the knowledge acquired by this extraordinary individual, and how much more is this to be admired when we recollect, that from his youth upwards, he was mixed up with the intrigues of courts, and that he bore the principal weight of the administration of an immense empire under three successive Sultáns. Besides medicine, to which he had applied himself when young, together with those sciences which are in immediate relation to it, he had cultivated with success, agriculture, architecture, and metaphysics, and had rendered himself conversant with the most abstruse points of Musulmán controversy and doctrine ; he was also an accomplished linguist, being acquainted with the Persian, Arabic, Mongolian, Turkish, and Hebrew languages, and, as it seems from his works, with the Chinese also. Amongst his great natural powers, we may reckon as the most important, the talent of writing with extreme facility ; this is attested by the voluminousness of his works, and by a passage in one of his writings, in which he asserts that he composed three of his greatest works, viz. :—the Kitáb al Tawdhíhát¹, the Miftah al Tafásír², and the Risálat al Sultáníyat³, in the short space of eleven months, and this not by giving up his whole time to his literary labours, but in the midst of the cares of government, and without reckoning numerous other treatises on various intricate subjects, which were written by him during the same period.

It was not till somewhat late in life that Rashíd al Dín turned his thoughts to authorship, and until his master, Gházáu Khán, ordered him to compose a history of the Mongols, he had not ventured to commit the results of his learning and meditations to the judgment of the world. Up to the time when our author commenced his task, no one had given a satisfactory account of the rise and progress of this extraordinary nation ; it is true that several writers had, with more or less success, endeavoured to supply this desideratum, but a full and connected history was still wanting. The archives of the Mongolian empire were fully adequate to furnish

الرسالة السلطانية³ مفتاح التفسير² كتاب التوضيحات¹

materials with regard to history, and the principal families of the Mongols possessed genealogies and documents well calculated to supply any deficiencies ; Gházán Khán accordingly chose Rashíd al Dín as the most fit person for this great work, and we have before us, in the first volume of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, the result of his labours.

The work was on the point of completion when Gházán Khán died, in the year of the Flight 703 ; Oljáltú Muhammad Khodá-bandah, the brother and successor of that monarch, not only approved of the plan which our author had followed and the manner in which he had executed his task, but enjoined him to complete it, and to add thereto a general account of all the people known to the Mongols, and a description of all the countries of the globe ; in short, to write the history of the world. Rashíd al Dín undertook this laborious work, and a few years sufficed for its accomplishment, for we find that in the year of the Flight 710, the entire history was written, bound, and deposited in the mosque, constructed by the author at Tabriz. It is true that Abd Allah Ibn Fadhl Allah, the author of the *Tárikhi Wassaf*, affirms, that Rashíd al Dín continued his work till the year 712, but this, probably, only applies to that portion of it which gives the history of Oljáltú. Haidar Rázi says, that the history of India was completed in the year 703, the period when our author received orders to commence his researches.

The entire work when completed, received from its author the title of *Jámi al Tawárikh*¹, and the first volume, which may be considered as a history by itself, continued to be called the *Tárikhi Gházání*², after the prince by whose orders it was composed and to whom it was dedicated.

The following account of the contents of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, is taken from a notice in Arabic, by Rashíd al Dín himself, prefixed to a MS. of his theological works, in the Royal Library at Paris, and quoted by M. Quatremère in the preface to his edition of the *Tárikhi Gházání*.

“The book called the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, comprises four volumes, the first of which contains a preface, an account of the origin of the nations of the Turks, the number of their tribes, and an account of the kings, kháns, amírs, and great men who have sprung from each tribe ; also of the ancestors of Changíz Khán, the history of that monarch's actions, and of his children and descendants, who have occupied the throne down to the time of Oljáltú Sultán. To the life of each prince is added his genealogy, an account of his character

¹ جامع التواريخ

² تاريخ غازاني

and of his wives and children, a notice of the khalífahs, kings, sultáns, and atábaks, who were contemporary with him, and a history of the remarkable events that occurred during his reign.

“The second volume contains an introduction and a history of the life of Oljáltú from the time of his birth to the present day; to this portion of the second volume will be added a supplement, comprising an account of the daily actions of this prince, written by us, and afterwards continued by the court historians. This second volume also contains a concise history of the prophets, sultáns, and kings of the universe, from the days of Adam to the present time, together with a detailed account of many people, of whom historians have, till now, given little or no description. All that I have said respecting them, I have taken from their own books and from the mouths of the learned men of each nation; it also gives the history of the people of the book, viz., the Jews and the Christians, and the histories of the sultáns and most celebrated princes of each country; also an account of the Ismailís, and many other curious and instructive particulars.

“The third volume gives, after the preface, a detailed account of the descent of the prophets, kings, khalífahs, the Arab tribes, the companions of the prophet Muhammad, &c., from the time of Adam to the end of the dynasty of the Baní Abbás; the genealogy of the ancestors of Muhammad, and of the tribes descended from them; the series of prophets who have appeared amongst the Baní Isráíl, the kings of the latter, and an enumeration of their different tribes; the genealogies of the Kíars and others of the Christian princes, with their names and the number of years of their respective reigns. All these details have been faithfully extracted from the chronicles of these people, and arranged in a systematic order.

“The fourth volume comprises a preface and a circumstantial account of the limits of each of the seven climates, the division and extent of the vast countries of the globe, the geographical position and description of the greater part of the cities, seas, lakes, valleys, and mountains, with their longitudes and latitudes. In writing this portion of our work, we have not been satisfied merely in extracting from the most esteemed geographical works, but we have, besides, made inquiries from the most learned men and those who have themselves visited the countries described; we have inserted in our relation, particulars obtained from the learned men of Hind, Chín, Máchín, the countries of the Franks, &c., and others which have been faithfully extracted from works written in the languages of those different countries.”

This is the account given by our author himself of his work; it must, however, be remarked, that in the preface to the *Tárikhi Gházání*, and in many other passages, he speaks of three volumes only, writing under the head of the second, the matters which here form the contents of the second and third; it is most likely that he subsequently divided this second volume into two portions, on account of its great bulk and disproportion in size to the others.

In the preface to the *Tárikhi Gházání*, the work is divided as follows. The contents of the first volume is the same as given in the preceding description, and it is dedicated to Gházán Khán.

The second volume contains the history of Oljáítú Sultán, (to whom it was dedicated,) from his birth to the time when our author wrote; this forms the first division of the volume; the second division comprises two parts, the first of which is again subdivided into two sections. The first section contains an abridged history of all the prophets, khálifsahs, and of the different races of men, to the year of the Flight 700. The second section comprises a detailed chronicle of all the inhabitants of the earth, according to their races, extracted from their various writings, and from the mouths of natives of the different countries. The second part is filled with the remaining portion of the history of Oljáítú, and was destined to be continued to the time of his death.

The third volume comprises the description of the geographical charts, and the various routes from one place to another, taken from the sources already mentioned.

Such is the extent and contents of this great work. It would be needless to expatiate upon its immense importance, both in an historical and geographical point of view; possessed of the amplest means of acquiring information from the most authentic sources, our author brought to his task a sound judgment and powers of discrimination rarely to be met with; whilst the extreme facility which he possessed of expressing his ideas, rendered the completion of his work (apparently, scarcely compatible with the duration of human life), the labour only of a few short years.

Up to the present time, the first volume of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, viz. the *Tárikhi Gházání*, was the *only* portion known in Europe, and till lately, but two copies of this work were accessible to Orientalists; these were deposited in the Royal Library at Paris, and a portion of this history was translated by M. Petis de la Croix, fils, but his version has been lost. At present, MSS. of the *Tárikhi Gházání* exist in several collections, both public and private. Some part of it has, as we have already seen, been lately published with unex-

amplified splendour, by the French Government, accompanied by a translation, and illustrated with copious notes, by the learned and indefatigable M. Quatremère, who is now preparing the remainder for publication.

Amongst the Orientals, scarcely any author speaks of the three last volumes of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*; Abú al Ghází Bahádar, Mírkhond, and Khondamír, were ignorant of their existence, and in the time of Sháh Rokh, the son of Tímúr, we find that that prince having ordered a continuation of Rashíd al Dín's history to be written, an anonymous writer composed a supplement, which contained the lives of Oljáitú and Abú Saíd; had the history been entire at that time, the life of the first of these sultáns would have been unnecessary, as it was already comprised in the first part of the second volume of the work.

The existence of the latter volumes of the history, which, from the silence of Eastern authors, might really almost have been doubted, is, however, fully proved. In the year of the Flight 717, during the life of Rashíd al Dín, Abú Sulaimán Dáúd Fakhr al Dín Abd Allah, surnamed Binákítí¹, composed an abridgment of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*², which he dedicated to the Sultán Abú Saíd. The Persian historian, Haider Rázi, who wrote in the seventeenth century, also quotes Rashíd al Dín's work, in support of facts not relating to the history of the Mongols, and an anonymous historian made an abridgment of the work in the 858th year of the Flight, from a MS. then existing at Herát.

It is impossible to fix with any degree of certainty the epoch at which these volumes were lost, but it seems most likely that they were destroyed when the Raba Rashídí was plundered by the

¹ His name is given in MS. Rich. 7627, Abú Sulaimán Ibn Dáúd Ben Abí al Fadhl Ben Muhammad Ben Muhammad Ben Dáúd al Binákítí. He was surnamed Al Binákítí, from his having been born at Binákít, or Finákít, a town in Máwará al Nahar, afterwards called Sháhirokhiah.

² This abridgment is entitled *Roxat Úl al Albáb*, (روضة اولي الابواب) but is more generally known by the name of *Tárikhi Binákítí*. This work is greatly esteemed by the Persians, and is often cited as an authority by subsequent historians. Abú Sulaimán follows Rashíd al Dín pretty closely, varying the arrangement, however, in some degree. The MSS. of his history are very scarce, but having been enabled to obtain access to no less than three copies, I have not failed to compare them diligently with Rashíd al Dín's work, and have found them of the greatest service. One of these MS. is in the library of the Oriental Translation Committee, it is in two volumes, which are numbered in my catalogue 118 and 119; the other two are amongst the Rich collection in the British Museum, and are numbered respectively, 7626, 7627.

order of Abú Saïd, as we know that all our author's works were deposited in the mosque of that suburb. On the other hand, the precautions taken by him to secure his works from being lost, seem to preclude the possibility of this being the case, as he himself tells us, he had dedicated considerable revenues for the purpose of copying and disseminating transcripts of his various writings through the most considerable cities of the Muhammadan world. Nevertheless, so it is; until now these volumes have remained altogether unknown, and it is only to be explained by the wholesale destruction above alluded to, and the civil wars which distracted the Mongol empire in Persia, after Abú Saïd's death.

I now turn to the manuscript before me, and which is the subject of these remarks. It is written in the Arabic language, in a clear and well-formed Niskhî character, on fine thick paper of a large folio size, and comprises in all fifty-nine folia: it is illustrated with numerous paintings, which exhibit, considering the time at which they were executed, (more than five hundred years ago,) a much higher style of art than we might have expected. I have taken the trouble of lithographing a copy of one of these¹, and have added two lines of the writing, which may serve as a specimen of the character of the whole manuscript.

Unfortunately the volume is only a collection of fragments; but from their antiquity and the importance of the matters upon which they treat, together with the manifest authenticity of the work, their discovery cannot fail to interest the learned world.

The following is a brief analysis of the contents of our MS.

The first part contains a portion of the history of the prophet Muhammad; it comprises seven folia, and is illustrated by three paintings.

This history is divided into short chapters, many of them not exceeding ten or twenty lines; the fragment remaining is imperfect

¹ The picture apparently represents the apothecosis of Hamzah, the uncle of Muhammad; the Persian title in the margin contains the following words,—

جزءه رضي الله تعالى عنه که انحضرت صلی الله علیه و آله و سلم
برای غزوة بنی قینقاع که جماعه ان بنی یهود بودند فرستاد

"Hamzah (may the Almighty God reward him) whom the prophet (the blessing of God be upon him and his descendants and peace) sent against the Banî Kainoká, who were a tribe of Jews."

All the paintings have Persian titles similarly written in the margin, apparently by some native of India who possessed the MS. *in its present state*, as the catch-words at the bottom of the pages, *as they stand*, are written in the same hand, even where leaves are wanting.

and the leaves are misplaced; it relates to the events which happened in the earlier years of the Flight; the contents of the chapters, in their present order, are as follows.

Account of the expedition of the prophet to Hamrá al Asad¹, which is described as a halting station between Makkah and Madínah, at a distance of three farsakhs from the former city.

Account of the night journey of Salamah Ben Abd al Asad in Moharram, the thirty-fifth month of the Flight.

Account of the night journey of Abd Allah Ben Anís to Sofiyán Ben Khálid, on the fifth of Moharram, the thirty-fifth month of the Flight.

Account of the night journey of Al Mondar Ben Amrú al Sáidí, in the thirty-sixth month of the Flight.

Account of the night journey of Morthid Ben Abí Morthid al Anawí to Al Rají², a halting station between Najá and Madínah, in Safar, the thirty-sixth month of the Flight.

Account of the expedition of the prophet against the Baní Al Nodhair³, in Rabi al Awwal, the thirty-seventh month of the Flight.

Account of the expedition of Badr al Móid⁴, in Dzí al Kadat, the forty-fifth month of the Flight.

Account of the expedition to Dzát al Riká⁵, in Moharram, the forty-seventh month of the Flight.

Account of the expedition to Dúmat al Jandal⁶, five days journey from Damashk, in Rabi al Awwal, the forty-ninth month of the Flight.

Account of the expedition to Dzát al Marísí⁷, between Al Fara⁸ and Madínah, in the month Shabán, and the year of the Flight 5.

¹ حِجْرُ الْأَسَدِ

² الرَّجِيعِ Est autem Ragius puteus juris Hudecitarum, ad quatuordecim miliaria ab Osfano.—ANULFEDA, à Reiske.

³ A tribe of Jews who resided about a farsakh's distance from Madínah.

⁴ بِدْرُ الْمَوْعِدِ

⁵ ذَاتُ الرِّقَاعِ The prophet halted at this place, which is described as situated in the desert, eight days' journey from Madínah; a miraculous conversion of his enemies took place here.—TABARÍ.

⁶ دُومَةُ الْجَنْدَلِ A certain well situated in the desert.—TABARÍ.

⁷ ذَاتُ الْمَرْسِيعِ

⁸ الْفَرَعِ

Account of the expedition of the ditch¹, in the month Dzí al Kadat, and the year of the Flight 5.

Account of several of the expeditions and night journeys of the prophet, from the first, which took place in the third year of the Flight, down to the time of his death.

Account of the revelation of the sacred verse of the Korán, by which the prophet was commanded to make the Kabah the Kiblah of Islám.

Account of the commencement of the religious observance of the month Ramadhán, and of almsgiving, and the breaking fast at the conclusion of Ramadhán.

Account of the expedition to Badr al Kabrí², and the slaughter of the Koraish at that place.

Account of the night journey of Amair Ben Adí.

Account of the night journey of Sálím Ben Amair.

Account of the expedition of the prophet against the Baní Kainoká³.

Account of the expedition of Al Sawík⁴, in Dzí al Híjjah, the twenty-third month of the Flight.

Account of the expedition to Karkarat al Kadr⁵, between Madan and Madínah, in Moharram, the twenty-third month of the Flight.

Account of the death of Kab Ben al Ashraf, the Jew, on the fourteenth of Rabi al Awwal, the twenty-fifth month of the Flight.

Account of the expedition of the prophet against the tribe Ghatafán in Rabi al Awwal, the twenty-fifth month of the Flight.

Account of the expedition of the prophet against the Baní Sálím, on the sixth of Jumáda, the twenty-seventh month of the Flight.

¹ Called also the expedition of the cohorts or troops, غزوة الاحزاب

² بدر الكبرى This was the first great victory gained by Muhammad; Gagnier, on the authority of Al Kodinus, says, "Badr est nomen putei, qui pertinebat ad quendam qui vocabatur Bedr."

³ Fuit nomen tribus Judeorum qui Medinæ domicilium habebant in vico quodam ab illis dicto سوق قينقاع Platea, seu Forum Kainoká.—GAGNIER.

⁴ غزوة السويك The expedition of barley. The word sawík signifies barley deprived of its husks and pounded. This expedition is so called because Abú Sofiyán and his followers, when pursued by the Musulmánus, cast down the bags (ظروف) of barley, which they carried for provender, in the midst of the road, in order to facilitate their escape by lightening the burdens of their horses.

⁵ قرقرة الكدر Nomen est aque isti tractui vicine, per quem via regia tendit ex Irak versus Meccam.—ABULFEDA,

The second part of the MS., which is imperfect at the commencement, contains the concluding portion of the history of Khitá¹. It comprises ten folia, and is illustrated by numerous paintings intended to represent the different kings whose names and histories are given in the text. This fragment commences with the eleventh race of the kings of Khitá, who were descended from Rai Kúgáu Shingshí²; the first king of this race was named Shíng Táng³, who is stated to have been the hundred and first king of Khitá, and to have commenced his reign in the year 629⁴.

Rashíd al Dín, in his account of the twelfth dynasty, which follows, states that before the time of Jai Wáng⁵, (the hundred and thirty-fourth king of Khitá and third of this dynasty,) the people of Khitá, Hind, and Kashmír were of various religious creeds; but that in his reign the birth of Shákmúní occurred, attended by unusual prodigies; he also says that, according to the traditions of Khitá, this prophet lived eighty-eight years, and that from the time of his birth up to the period when our author wrote, viz., the 704th year of the Flight, 1363 years had elapsed.

Shákmúní is here said to have been conceived immaculately by a ray of light on the body of Múyah Kúchín⁶, the virgin bride of Ang Fáng⁷, king of Túkiya Tíláwí⁸, a city on the confines of Kashmír; at the age of nineteen he retired into a mountain where he remained for five years fasting, he then passed six years in the same mountain in the worship of God, after which he commenced his prophetic mission, when the people of Kashmír, Khitá, and Hindústán embraced his religion.

¹ This appears to be the correct method of spelling this word, and not as usually written, Khata: Quatremère says that it is derived from the people called Khitans, and mentions that Bergmann and Burnes both write the word as in the text. It is also so spelt in the Jagatáfan translation of the Tazkirat Aúlia. My transcription of the names both of persons and places in this and the following part of our MS., is from the absence of the vowel points, often necessarily conjectural; but I have always given the names in the Arabic character at the foot of the page.

² رى كوكاو شينكشى In the Táríkhí Dinákítí, Rai Kúgáu Shingshí is mentioned as the seventy-third King of Khitá, and the first king of the seventh race.

³ شينك تانك

⁴ This date is most probably reckoned from some computation of time used by the Chinese, which was explained in the preceding part of the History of Khitá, here wanting.

⁵ چى وانك

⁶ مويه قوچي

⁷ انك فانك

⁸ بوكيا دلاوي

In the reign of Dín Wáng¹, the twentieth king of this dynasty, Tái Sháng Lái Kún² was born. This person is stated to have been accounted a prophet by the people of Khitá; his father's name was Iian³; like Shákmúí, he is said to have been conceived by light, and it is related that his mother bore him in her womb for no less a period than eighty years. The people who embraced his doctrines were called Shan Shan⁴. His birth occurred 347 years after Shákmúí.

In the time of Tin Wáng⁵, the thirty-sixth and last king of this dynasty, the empire is stated to have been divided into various principalities, similar to the Mulúk al Tawáif of Persia. This commonwealth was put an end to by Shan Shakhwáng⁶, who seized upon the whole kingdom.

Our author proceeds to enumerate the dynasties which followed, giving a brief account of each. In speaking of the nineteenth dynasty, he mentions that Shanídí⁷ was deposed by one of his nobles named Súbíngsháng⁸, who was afterwards slain by an army of invaders; upon hearing of this circumstance the deposed king Shanídí and his khátún both laughed so immoderately that they dropped down dead.

The empire was now divided into three portions, one of which was given to Súbíngsháng's son, and the others to kings chosen from among the invaders: one of these last kings eventually possessed himself of the whole and became sole monarch.

Our author after this gives a short history of the various revolutions and dynasties (amounting to little more than a list of names) who ruled over Máchín and Khitá, and its dependencies, down to the last dynasty of native kings. In the time of Kamzún⁹, the twentieth king of this dynasty, and who ruled over all Khitá and Máchín, the tribe of Khúrjah¹⁰ came down against Khitá, and having deposed Kamzún, raised Akúdái Nújak¹¹, one of their own tribe, to the sovereignty, surnaming him Tábrún Kárún¹²; this Akúdái and his

دين وانك	تاي شانك لاي كون	حن
شن شن	تن وانك	شن شخوانك
شنیدی	سوحینكشانك	كمزون

¹⁰ خورجه This tribe is the same as the Nú-jí, as appears from the following passage of Abdallah Baidháwí.

و قوم دیگر صکرا نشینان متصل این قوم اند که ایشانرا نوجی
میکویند و مغولان و دیگر اقوام ایشانرا خورجه خوانند
تابرون قرون¹² اکودای نوجت¹¹

posterity are called Altán Khán by the Turks. Kamzún was succeeded by Shújú¹ in Máchín, for a short period: he was the last of the native kings of China, and in his reign the army of the Khán possessed themselves of Máchín. This Shújú, according to the historical books of Khitá, was the two hundred and sixty-seventh² king from Níkú, who was the first.

Our author then gives an enumeration of the kings of the Khúrjah race; he also states that in former times there arose a blood-feud between the Altán Kháns and the ancestors of Changíz Khán, and that in consequence, the latter proceeded, in the 607th year of the Flight, against Khitá, and conquered Shúdí Shúshú³, the last of the Khúrjah kings; in the year of the Flight 631, Oktái Khán pursued his victories, and having taken Shúdí Shúshú's capital, destroyed it: the last monarch of Khitá perished in the conflagration of his own palace, and the whole empire became subject to the authority of the Mongols.

The third portion of the MS. contains the Tákrík al Hind wa al Sind; this most important history is perfect with the exception of one lacuna. It comprises twenty folia and is illustrated by nine paintings.

Our author divides the history of Hind and Sind into two parts, the first of which is subdivided into eleven sections or chapters.

The first section contains an account of the various divisions of time employed by the Hindús, and commences by giving the opinions of the inhabitants of Hind, Kashmír, and Khitá, with regard to the creation of the world; it proceeds to enumerate and describe the different yúgs, (cycles, or periods,) giving the duration of each. Rashíd al Dín here mentions that he derived his information from an Arabic translation of the Hindú work *Bánatájál* or *Bítanajál*⁴, by the celebrated Abú Raihán al Bírúní, who was for a considerable period in

¹ شوجو

² There are considerable discrepancies between this history and that of the *Tárikhi Binákítí* in the number of the kings; in the latter work Shújú is described as the 305th king of Khitá.

³ شودي شوشو

⁴ There is some doubt as to the right reading of this word; it occurs three times, thus *بانتكل بانتكل بانتكل*. Our author says that the word was originally *بانتكل*; one letter here, it is doubtful which, wants the diacritical points; it is by this last name that the book is mentioned in the *Tárikhi Binákítí*; but the orthography is not fixed by the MSS. of that work which I have consulted.

Hindústán and received much instruction from the Brahmans¹. Our author gives some further particulars relating to the division of time and the age of the world, and then passes on to the next chapter.

The second section treats of the measurement of the world, its form and division into four quarters and seven climates, and gives an account of the circumambient ocean. Our author estimates the superficial extent of the habitable portion of the earth at 80,143,320 farsakhs, reducing the same, with the curious accuracy of eastern writers, into miles, cubits, *finger-breadths*, and *barley-corns*; he then describes the division into degrees, and gives various other measurements both of land and sea.

The third section contains a description of the mountains and waters of Hind, and the fourth of the various provinces, cities, towns, waters, islands, and people. Both these sections, viz., the second and third, contain a quantity of curious and valuable geographical information, and many interesting particulars with respect to the inhabitants and productions of different countries.

Section the fifth contains the history of the sultans of Dahlí, and their genealogies, giving an account of the origin of the kings of Hind; an enumeration of the kings who reigned previous to the time of Sultán Mahmúd Ghaznaví; and the history of the Ghórides to the time of Alá al Dín, who ruled in Dahlí at the time when our author wrote.

The sixth section comprises a description of the country of Kashmír, its mountains, waters, and cities, with an account of some of its kings to the time of Shahah Dív².

The five remaining sections of this part contain the history of the Bráhmah kings³ of the countries of Hind during the four cycles or Yúgs.

¹ Abú Raihán Muhammad Ibn Ahmad al Bírúní was a famous astronomer, and excelled in the sciences of geometry and judicial astrology: he lived in the time of the sultans Mahmúd and Masúd of Ghazni; he was sent into India in company with Abú al Nasr and Abú al Khair by Sultán Mámmún, king of Kh'arizm, and remained there forty years. In the *Tárikhi Binákíí* it is stated that he learned the language of the Brahmans and searched their books, one of which, described as the most excellent of all, he translated into the Arabic tongue; this book, says Abú Sulaimán, was called *Bánatakál* or *Bátanakál*, for it is differently written in the two MSS. of the British Museum. The MS. of the Translation Committee omits the points of one letter as in the MS. of Rashíd al Dín, but from the position of the points of the ۛ it seems most likely the word should be written *Bátanakál*. I may add that there is a sect of Hindús founded by the sage Patanjali, who wrote the sūtras, known by his name, and which are probably here alluded to, *Vide* GLADWIN'S *Ayecn Akbery*, vol. ii. p. 416, and WARD'S *View of the Hindoos*, vol. iv. p. 199.

The second part of the history is divided into twenty-one sections.

The first section treats of the different prophets of Hind, according to the authority of Kamálsharí Al-Bakhshí Al-Kashmírí¹. Our author in this section speaks of six different prophets, viz., Máhíshúr², Wishan³, Brahmán⁴, Arahnat⁵, Náshak⁶, and Shákmúní⁷, each of whom introduced different religions, which were again divided into various sects. This section contains a curious account of the faith of the Hindús; our author mentions in one place that Máhíshúr, Wishan, and Bráhmau, are three persons but one God, and makes use of a comparison which I have seen in illustration of our Holy Trinity, that they are thus three and one, like water, snow, and ice⁸.

Our author gives a full account of the different sects of these religions, and a particular description of the three sects of the followers of Shákmúní; he also speaks of Shákmúní's book called Abdarm⁹, which he explains as meaning the first and last, or Alpha and Omega of books, and gives a synopsis of its contents, with which this section concludes.

The second section contains an account of the birth of Shákmúní, which is here related somewhat differently from the short notice previously given in the history of Khitá; his nominal father is here called Shadúdan¹⁰, and is mentioned as king of Kabalawás¹¹, a city of Hind; his mother, Máhámáyá¹², is however represented as having conceived the prophet in her sleep. This section also gives an account of his education.

The third section treats of the signs by which a prophet may be known; these are thirty-two in number, all relating to personal for-

كالشري البخشي الكشميري¹

شاكُمُونِي⁷ نَاشَكُ⁶ ارَهْنَت⁵ برهْمَان⁴ وَشَن³ ماهيشور²

⁸ The following is the passage alluded to:—

ويقول امّة ماهيشورو وشن وبرهما ان هُوَ لا التلثة الا شخاص الـ
واحد والمراد من الاله الواحد هم ولاجل هذا يقولون انهم الالهة
والامور المعظمة الواقعة في العالم مثل الطوفان و الصواعق
و الزلازل و التبديل

ماهامايا¹² كبلواس¹¹ شدودن¹⁰ ابدرم⁹

mation and appearance, and amongst others equally singular, it is said, that his hands and feet should be soft and fresh, both in youth and old age; that his chest should be broad, like that of a lion, and that the line down the centre between the pectoral muscles should be extremely slender; that he should possess forty teeth of extreme whiteness; that his body should be of the colour of red gold; and that his stature must be above the ordinary height; Shákmúní is represented as having possessed all these thirty-two requisite qualifications.

The fourth section relates to the disposition, habits, and conversation of Shákmúní, and his various perfections in these respects, and concludes with his confinement in a fortress, by order of his father.

Section the fifth relates how, at the age of twenty-nine years, the prophet was released from the fortress by his guardian angels, and how, having proceeded to the river Gang, he remained in religious contemplation for the space of six years.

The sixth section states the conclusion of his retirement, and how he thereupon took food and drink, his miracles, and manifestations of his prophetic mission, and his contests with Iblís.

The seventh section is entitled "An Account of the Four Cycles, according to the words of Shákmúní and the wise men and Brahmins of Hind."

A portion of the MS. is here lost, immediately after the commencement of the seventh section. The sense is thus broken, and some difficulty arises with regard to the nature of what follows; the next pages, however, seem to contain an account of various Buddhist books, and the advantages to be derived from their perusal¹.

The seventeenth section, which is the next in order, continues the history of Shákmúní, and contains questions which were proposed to him by an angel, and his answers thereto.

Section the eighteenth relates to Shákmúní's prediction of another prophet, who was to come after him.

The nineteenth section treats of the different degrees of men, good and bad, paradise and hell, and certain things commanded and forbidden, according to the words of Shákmúní.

The twentieth section contains an account of the religious creeds of the various cities of Hind; and the twenty-first and concluding section relates the death and last actions of Shákmúní.

At the end of this section, which is the last of the history of Hind and Sind, there is the date of the exaration of the MS., viz., A. H. 714.

¹ These books are not noticed in the *Tárikhi Binákitt*,

Haidar Rázi says that Rashíd al Dín composed this History of India in the 703rd year of the Flight; our MS. was therefore written only eleven years subsequent to the composition of the original work.

The fourth portion of our MS. contains a fragment of the History of the Baní Isráíl; it comprises nineteen folia, and is illustrated by nine paintings. I have only examined this part of the work cursorily, as it does not seem to contain any new matter, but merely gives the history of the Israelites according to the Muhammadan traditions, as we find it in Tabarí.

After the preface, Rashíd al Dín commences with an account of the creation of the world, and the history of Adam and his descendants to the time of Núh; he then gives an account of the deluge, and proceeds successively with the histories of Ibráhím, Ishák, Yakúb, Yúsuf, Músa, Yoshua, Shamwáíl, Tálút, Dáúd, and Sulaimán. Our author after this treats of the kings of the Baní Isráíl, who reigned after Sulaimán, gives the histories of the prophets Khidhr Alisa and Yónas, of King Bokht Nasr and Danyál, and the story of Hámám and Mordakhái. This history of the Baní Isráíl is imperfect at the end.

Such are the contents of this interesting volume. When I first examined it a difficulty occurred to me in consequence of its being written in the Arabic language; whereas all the authors whom I had consulted on the subject, expressly state that this history was composed in Persian. At this period M. Quatremère's work came under my notice, and at once set all my doubts at rest with regard to the authenticity of the work. In the notice of Rashíd al Dín's works, already alluded to as quoted by M. Quatremère in his preface, we find a description of the precautions taken by our author in order to prevent his works from being lost. After having stated that he had formed the design of collecting his works together, and forming them into one large volume, he proceeds to say that, in order that they might be of equal utility to those who spoke Persian or Arabic, he translated into the latter tongue all those works that he had written in Persian, and had one copy transcribed expressly to form part of the large volume, besides many others which were destined some to be bound together and others to be kept separate; he in like manner caused all his Arabic works to be translated into Persian, and entitled the whole collection *Majmú bijámi altasánif al Rashídi*¹, i. e. The Complete Collection of all the Works of Rashíd al Dín.

¹ مجموعه التصانيف الرشيدى

Our author, in the notice, then gives a general catalogue of all his works.

Rashíd al Dín having caused several copies of his writings, and the large volume before alluded to, to be transcribed, deposited all the MSS. in the mosque of the Raba Rashídí, so that they might be accessible to every one who was desirous of making copies of his works.

Besides this, we learn from this notice, that he ordered that the administrator of the revenues of the Raba Rashídí should employ a certain part thereof in causing two complete transcripts of all his works to be made annually, the one in the Arabic and the other in the Persian language, making an exception, however, in favour of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, the number of copies of that history being left to the discretion of the administrator, and the demand there might happen to be for the work.

All these transcripts were written on large Baghdád paper, in a clear and legible hand: besides this, each copy was carefully collated with the standard examples deposited in the Raba Rashídí, so that there might be no faults in the orthography, and that each one might agree perfectly with its original.

After this follow directions as to the binding of the copies, the salaries of the calligraphists employed in transcribing, and an enumeration of the ceremonies and observances to be attended to in the writing and presentation of each individual MS. Amongst these observances our author orders that when the copies were completed, the inspector appointed should forward them to some of the cities under the domination of the Mussulmáns: one copy in the Arabic language to the cities of Arabia, and one in Persian to those of Persia, commencing with the most considerable cities, and proceeding in gradation with those of less importance. He further directs that the copies so forwarded should be deposited in some college, under the care of a professor well versed in science, who should be chosen by the Kádhís and most learned persons of the city; and that any person being desirous of reading or transcribing the MSS. should be allowed the amplest facilities for so doing.

Our MS. then contains portions of the second volume of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, and, as is ascertained from the date, was written *only four years after the completion of the work*. From the notice above quoted we may with certainty conclude that it is one of the very MSS. therein described, written on the large Baghdád paper, translated from the original Persian into Arabic, *either by the author himself, or under his immediate inspection, and collated with the original copy of the history, deposited by his orders in the mosque of the Raba Rashídí.*

The possession of the lost volumes of the *Jamí al Tawáríkh* has been for more than a century a great desideratum in oriental literature; and when I look at this MS., which has been copied under the author's own eyes, I cannot forbear congratulating myself on being the first to discover and bring before the notice of the literary world this inestimable monument of antiquity, which may almost with certainty be pronounced to be *unique*: its mutilated condition must be a source of regret to all who take an interest in these matters, but still there is much left, and I do not think that I am too sanguine in the expectation that, by its means, some additional light will be thrown on the ancient history and religions of India.

I must now conclude; I do not despair of having my proposals to M. Quatremère acceded to by the French Government, but should I be disappointed I venture to hope that at some future period, if the more serious labours of my profession allow of it, I may find time to edit at least the text of these fragments myself. Believe me, my dear sir, most sincerely yours,

WILLIAM H. MORLEY.

May 13th, 1839,
15, Serle-street, Lincoln's Inn.

P.S. There is a portion of the *Táríkh Al Hind wa al Sind* contained in a MS. presented to the Society by the late Colonel Francklin. It is in the Arabic language, and is accompanied by an interlinear translation and occasional notes in Persian. It commences with the eleventh section of the *History of Hind*, and continues it to the end of the account of Shákmúní. From a note in Persian at the end of the MS., we learn that this translation was made by Abd al Kádir of Díví, in Lakhnau, in the month of May, and the year of our Lord 1823, by order of Colonel Francklin. This MS. is not, however, of any use in collating the text, as it was copied from the larger one above described; this is proved by the transcriber's having left a blank at the place where the lacuna occurs in the large MS., and noticing in the margin that a leaf is here wanting in his original.

When I catalogued this MS. I wrote to Colonel Francklin, in the expectation that he would be able to give me some information on the subject, but in his reply he said that he had "forgotten all about it except having written to Abd al Kádir many years since on the subject of his translation of Shákmúní."

POSTSCRIPT BY MR. MORLEY.

Within the last few days, after the completion of the preceding pages, another portion of the second volume of the *Jāmi al Tawārikh* has, by an almost incredible chance, come to light; and what renders the fact still more wonderful, this other portion, which was procured in India by the late Colonel Baillie, is a part of the *identical volume* that forms the subject of my remarks. When I first heard of the circumstance I was sanguine in my expectations that we should be able to perfect the second volume, or at least supply the deficiency in that which I consider to be the most important part of it, viz., the *History of Hind and Sind*, but unfortunately this is not the case, our MS. containing, as we have seen, (with the exception of the first few leaves of Muhammadan history,) portions of the *second* section of the first part of the second division of the second volume, whilst that of Colonel Baillie, as I believe, comprises the greater portion of the *first* section of the same part. The history of Muhammad in Colonel Baillie's MS. may be, perhaps, perfected from that of the Society; but further than this the two MSS. do not assist each other. Professor Forbes, who was fortunate enough to find this precious volume, has given an account of its contents, and the circumstances which led to its discovery, in a paper which follows.

W. H. M.

Sept. 26th, 1839.

ERRATUM.—I have carelessly suffered a serious error to escape me in the preceding pages. The passage given in Note B, at the foot of page 27, was hastily transcribed from the Persian MS.; the sentence as it stands is incomplete; and, as is obvious, will not bear the meaning imputed to it in the text.

LETTER OF PROFESSOR FORBES.

Read 2nd Nov., 1839.

SIR,

Mr. W. MORLEY has kindly presented to me a copy of his interesting letter addressed to Major-General Briggs, respecting the portion of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, now in the Society's library. About the time when Mr. Morley's communication was passing through the press, I accidentally fell in with a much larger portion of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, comprising one half the original volume, of which the Society's fragment forms about one-fifth. The two fragments have been clearly proved (as you will perceive hereafter) to be parts of the same grand original; and it is curious enough that after many years, perhaps centuries, of separation, they should have at last met in a portion of the earth so remote from their native city.

That portion of the *Jámi al Tawárikh* which forms the subject of the present hasty and imperfect communication, belonged to the late Colonel John Baillie, a distinguished member of the Asiatic Society. Shortly after the death of that eminent Orientalist, his house in town was let, and his books and manuscripts were temporarily removed to the house of a friend in Soho Square, previous to their being conveyed to the family estate in Inverness-shire¹. They have remained however undisturbed in Soho Square ever since. A few weeks ago I happened to have a pupil who lived in the same house, and from his description of some of the MSS. I felt and expressed my wishes to see them, in which request I was most readily indulged.

The first, indeed I may say the only, work that caught my attention was a large Arabic manuscript of a historical nature, written in a beautiful and very old Naskhi hand, with many pictures very creditably executed, all things considered. On the back of this rare volume is written in a distinct Persian hand "*Tárikh i Tabarí*," and as if this were not sufficient, there is a note written in Persian, on a blank page, folio 154, of which the following is a literal translation. "The name of this book is *The Tárikh i Tabarí*, (the History or Chronicle of Tabarí,) the author's autograph. The whole number of leaves when complete, amounted to 303; now however, some one has stolen and carried off one half of it, or about 150 leaves. It was written by the author's own hand, in the year of the Hegira 706 (A.D. 1306-7)."

¹ Colonel Baillie's Books and Manuscripts are entailed property.

The information intended to be conveyed in this note, is, unfortunately, rendered very suspicious, by the date given in the conclusion; as Tabarí had flourished some 450 lunar years earlier. On examining the work itself, I found that the Muhammedan history came down to the last of the Khalífas of Bagdad; hence it could not be the original Tabarí. As D'Herbelot, however, has mentioned two writers who have continued the history of Tabarí down to their own times, I thought this might possibly be one of them, and in order to verify the circumstance, I took the Persian version with me next day to compare them; but after making the most liberal allowance for the freedom generally used by Oriental translators, I found that the two could never have been intended for the same work.

Resolved, if possible, to arrive at some satisfactory conclusion respecting the MS., I requested a very intelligent native¹ of India to accompany me to see it. The moment this gentleman looked at it, he told me that whether it was Tabarí or not, he had seen the identical book some months back in a house where he visited. On further inquiry, I learned that the book to which he alluded, belonged to the Asiatic Society. Next day I examined the Society's MS. and found, as I had concluded, that it forms part of the *half* that is missing in Colonel Baillie's MS. In proof of this, I may mention that the ink and the handwriting are the same in both. The length and breadth and number of lines in each page are the same, and the paintings are in the same style in both. The work had been numbered originally by leaves or folia, as is usual in Oriental MS.; these numbers still remain on the second page of each leaf, and every leaf of the Society's fragment is missing in Colonel Baillie's work. There is no question then, that as Sádi hath it, "they are limbs of one another," for assuredly they originally consisted of but one work.

Colonel Baillie's MS. contains at present 151 folia or leaves, being as nearly as possible one half the original number, as stated in the Persian note. The last leaf is numbered 218, so that sixty-seven leaves are wanting to complete the work from the beginning to the last leaf now remaining. Of these, there are seven leaves in the Society's fragment on the history of Muhammad. They are numbered (in their order) 57, 58, 63, 64, 66, 70, and 74, all of which are, of course, missing in Colonel Baillie's MS. If these seven leaves were restored to their places in Colonel B.'s MS. and the remainder of the Society's fragment subjoined, they would altogether form a volume of 210 folia, there being still a deficiency of ninety-three

¹ Mír Afzal Ali, Vakíl from the Maháráj of Satára.

leaves. This goes on the supposition that the number originally consisted of 303 leaves, as stated in the Persian note.

The contents of Colonel Baillie's MS. may be conveniently classed under three distinct heads.

1st. From the commencement to folio 41.

This portion of the work is perfect, with the exception of the first and second leaves; but the loss of these is greatly to be lamented, as they may have contained a general account of the whole volume, and an outline of its contents. This part is occupied with the history of Persia and Arabia from the earliest times down to the birth of Muhammad. At the same time the author has inserted, apparently in chronological order, copious accounts of the patriarchs and prophets of the Old Testament; also, of Alexander the Great and his successors.

2nd. From folio 41 to folio 154.

This portion commences with the genealogy and birth of Muhammed. It then gives a minute account of his life, and the history of his successors down to the capture of Bagdad by Húlakú Khán, A. H. 654—A. D. 1256. This part of the work is strictly confined to the history of Muhammad and the Khalífás, the events of each year being detailed separately, with the date prefixed. In this division there are missing altogether forty-six leaves; but by replacing the seven leaves already mentioned as contained in the Society's MS., the lacuna will be reduced to thirty-nine, the greater part of which occurs between folios 70 and 107 inclusive, which treats of the history of the early Khalífás. From folio 107 to 154 there is no hiatus.

3rd. From folio 154 to 217.

The third part treats of the history of Persia under the Ghaznavi, the Saljúki, and the Atabeg dynasties. Like the first, it is of a somewhat miscellaneous character: the history of Persia is its leading feature. At the same time the author notices, in chronological order, such illustrious personages and remarkable events as came within his knowledge among other nations, particularly among the Christians. In this portion there are nineteen leaves missing, and these being towards the end, I cannot say how far the history extends—probably to the author's own times.

Folios 217 and 218, (the last in the volume,) are occupied with the history of the kings of Kh'árizm. How much of the original volume this subject occupied is uncertain. From 219 to 248 inclusive, there is a breach which, for the present, we cannot repair. At folio 249 the Society's MS. commences the history of Khata, and

proceeds uninterruptedly to folio 300, *if* we could put faith in numbers, of which more hereafter.

Supposing then the two MS. were re-united, there would still be *at least* the following deficiency:—

	Fol.
In Part 1st, containing the preface, &c. - - -	2
In — 2nd, Muhammad and the early Khalifas, - - -	39
In — 3rd, the latter history of Persia, &c. - - -	19
Between fol. 219 and 248 inclusive, (subject uncertain) -	30
Folia 301, 302, and 303, at the end - - -	3
Total - - -	93

I have reason to suspect, however, that the volume consisted originally of more than 303 leaves. In the Society's MS. there is a lacuna of some leaves in the life of Shakmuni, while the numbers of the folia proceed without any interruption. This can be accounted for on the supposition that the folia were numbered some time after the work was written, but previous to its present dismemberment; and it will be perceived that the ink used in the numbers differs considerably from that of the text. The person who wrote the numbers may have known as little about the nature and contents of the work as the writer of the Persian note, who called it *The History of Tabarí*; and hence, I should think, arose the mistake.

I have no means of ascertaining in what part of India Colonel Baillie procured his MS., but I should say, most probably at Lakhnau, where he was long resident. That the Society's fragment came from that quarter, within the last fifteen or sixteen years, can be easily proved. There is a duplicate of the life of Shakmuni in the Society's library, transcribed at Deví, a village or district of Lakhnau, in May, 1823¹. That this was done from the Society's original is all but certain, for the same hiatus occurs in the copy as in the original. The transcriber there mentions, in a note, that "there is *one* leaf missing (in the original);" but I am afraid, if we judge from circumstances, that *ten* leaves would have been nearer the mark. In the life of Shakmuni there are twenty-one sections, of which about ten are lost (from the seventh to the seventeenth). Each section before and after the lost part occupies at an average a single leaf. I cannot believe, then, that the ten lost sections could have been comprised in one leaf, particularly as what remains of the seventeenth section alone occupies a leaf and half a page. It is not unlikely, then, that there may be other lacunæ which may have

¹ Vide Mr. Morley's Note, page 23.

escaped the notice of the person who numbered the leaves—a point which can be ascertained only by a careful perusal of the work itself.

Should this brief account be deemed worthy of insertion in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, (perhaps, in company with Mr. Morley's more ample communication,) it may prove the means of exciting our numerous Orientalists in India to make inquiries for the remaining fragments of this rare volume.

There is every reason to suppose that both the portions of the work now in London, came from Lakhnau; and in that quarter it is probable the rest may yet be recovered. Mr. Morley has given an accurate fac-simile of a portion of folio 74, and I may add, that where no breaks occur, each page contains thirty-five of such lines. Finally, such numbers as I have stated to be missing, will, most probably, have remained on the leaves of the lost fragments, which may thus be easily identified.

Nearly two years ago I had the honour of requesting the attention of the Society to some rare Oriental works mentioned in a Persian catalogue of the library of Farzáda Kulí, or some such name. In the historical department of that catalogue, one of the first books entered is, "*The Chronicle of Tabarí*, the author's autograph, in the Arabic language, with *seventy* pictures of Saints, his Eminence the Prophet, and sundry kings, very rare." Now I strongly suspect that the work here described, is none other than Colonel Baillie's MS. of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*. The number of pictures in Col. Baillie's half, is really *seventy*, and among these is a portraiture of Muhammad. The writer of the catalogue received the work as he found it marked on the back, and in the Persian note, folio 154, without troubling his head about its contents. What renders this supposition still more probable is, that the *Jámi al Tawárikh* is not mentioned in the catalogue as one of Farzáda Kulí's books. Upon the whole then, there is good reason to infer that Colonel Baillie's MS. some forty years back, was one of the many rare works described in the catalogue of Farzáda Kulí's library; and if that treasure be not ere now dispersed, I should suggest that search should be made for it in the kingdom of Oude.

Before I conclude these hasty remarks, I cannot help observing that the *Jámi al Tawárikh* does not seem so very scarce a book among eastern writers¹, as M. de Quatremère would lead us to sup-

¹ It has been suggested to me, that the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, alluded to by Mirkhond, &c., refers only to the *Tarikh i Gházání*, or first volume, but not to the last three. I must say, however, that I cannot perceive why these writers should have so misapplied the term *Collection of Histories*, to the history of a particular nation, which, besides, had a separate title of its own. I may further mention that,

pose. It is inferred, for instance, that Mirkhond and Khondemír were either ignorant of its existence, or borrowed from it without acknowledgment. Now the fact is, that Mirkhond, in the preface to the *Rozat-al-saffa*, mentions this very work as one of the sources to which he was indebted for his materials. His words are', "Kh'ája Rashíd tabíh, sáhib-i Jámi, that is, Khája Rashíd, the physician, author of the *Jámi*," i.e. *The Collection*, or *Universal History*. Of Khondemír, I do not happen to possess a copy, but at all events, there can be no reason to suppose that he was ignorant of the *Jami*, as he *must* have read the works of his immediate predecessor, Mirkhond. It would be endless as well as useless to mention other writers who allude to the *Jámi al Tawárikh*. In the introduction to the fourth volume of the *Kimiya-e-Sa'ádat*, the author expresses his obligations to the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, of Kh'ája Rashid, the wazír. Even the very thieves who stole the Society's fragment out of the volume now in possession of Colonel Baillie's successor, seemed to have very well known what they were about, for the fragment is marked, "*az Jámi al Tawárikh*," i.e. out of the *Collection of Histories*.

In the Society's MS., No. 14, already alluded to as being a duplicate of the old fragment of the life of Shakmuni, there is prefixed (in Persian) an account of the author and his works, of which, as it is not long, a translation is here subjoined. "It is well known that the *Jámi al Tawárikh*, compiled by Kh'ája Rashíd al-dín, contains a history of the whole world, both as regards the lives of the prophets, and the manners and conduct of the kings of every region. In the same work the writer hath also given a sketch of the history of India; for he had learned something of the tenets of the sages of that country from (competent) people, and part (of his information) he had from the book of Abul ríhán Birúní, who, having frequently travelled to India in the service of Sultan Mahmúd, the son of Sabaktagín, had held intercourse with the sages of that country. After he had made thorough proficiency in the sciences of the Indian philosophers, he translated, from the Indian language into the Arabic tongue, the book of Patankal, or Patanjál, which is a collection of all the sciences, and one of the most valuable works of the sages of Hind, (like the *Kitáb i Shaff'a*, by Shaikh al-rasi.) It contains an account of all their various sects, and the history of their ancient

in a MS. in my possession, entitled *Majma al Gharáib*, the *Jámi al Tawárikh* is quoted on a matter of chronology which is assuredly from the latter volumes, stating that, "from the fall of Adam to the birth of Muhammad there had elapsed 6102 years, six months, and ten days!"

خواجہ رشید طبیب صاحب جامع'

kings, also the life of Shakmuni, who, according to their opinion, and the testimony of Kamakshari al Bakhshí al Kashmíri, is the guiding prophet of the people of Hind and Khatá. To this work he gave the name of *Patanjal*, a copy of which he carried away with him.

"Since the history and actions of Shakmuni, who was once the prophet of the people of India, have, through the lapse of time, sunk into oblivion, I, the meanest of God's servants, Abd ul Kádír, resident of Deví, of Lakhnau, have transcribed the following account of him from the *Jámi al Tawárikh*. And, at the request of the high in dignity and rank, Major Herbert, I have made a translation of it into easy Persian. In certain parts the original was defective and obliterated; these defects, with their proposed corrections, I have marked on the margin. Deo soli scientia."

I have nothing further to add respecting this rare and ancient work, except to express my regret that it has not been deposited in the Society's library, where it might be accessible to Oriental scholars. There may be other valuable MSS. in Colonel Baillie's collection, which I have not had time to examine; and I shall only mention here, a very fine copy of the *Mahábhárata*. It is beautifully written on one roll of fine paper, laid on cotton or silk, and abounds with well-executed paintings, representing most of the complicated events described in Hindu mythology. I believe it contains the whole work, as the writing is extremely small, though very distinct. The roll is about 220 feet long, and I should say from four to five inches wide within the margin, which is ornamented and illumined throughout.

I am, sir, yours faithfully,

D. FORBES.

8, *Alfred-street, Bedford-square*,
26th October, 1839.

P.S. In the preceding letter I have alluded to a Persian MS. in the Society's possession, entitled a *Catalogue of the Library of Farzáda Kuli*. This work is frequently quoted by my friend M. Garcin de Tassy, in his *Histoire de la Littérature Hindouí et Hindoustani*, lately published; for which reason I beg leave to subjoin the following extract from an account of it, which was read at one of the meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1838.

"The accompanying MS. is a catalogue of books in the Arabic,

Persian, and Hindu languages, amounting, on a rough estimate, to upwards of 2000 volumes. It is fairly written and well arranged, the works being classed under the different subjects of which they treat, as may be seen by referring to the second blank leaf at the beginning, where I have given an abstract of the contents.

"Of the works here mentioned, many, I believe, are unknown, even by name, in this country; but there is one in particular which merits attention, as it has been long given up for lost by the Orientalists of Europe. I allude to the *original Arabic text* of the *Chronicles of Tabarí*, which is here described (p. 10) as follows:—'The *Chronicles of Tabarí—the Author's Autograph*, with seventy portraits of prophets, his Eminence the Apostle, and various princes, IN THE ARABIC LANGUAGE—RARE.'

"Here then it is evident that the original of *Tabarí* existed (in all probability) in India within the last forty or fifty years. Unfortunately there is no date, nor name of person or place mentioned in the book, from which we could discover of whose library it is the catalogue. The last words are the writer's name, *Dávar Bakhsh*, a piece of information of no great consequence. On the first blank leaf some one has written, barbarously enough, in Roman characters¹, what I believe is intended for Persian, and apparently signifies 'A Catalogue of the Library of *Ferzada Kolo*;' but even this affords us very little enlightenment. I am led, however, to infer from circumstances—in the first place, that the book has been written within the last forty or fifty years; this is evident from its mentioning (p. 90) the *Diwán of Sauda*, a Hindustani poet, who died only a few years before the commencement of the present century. Secondly, it is a catalogue of the library of *some prince*, as may indeed be inferred from its extent, but still more from an expression that occurs in page 95, viz., 'A list of the books remaining in the old chest belonging to his August and Sublime Highness.' Thirdly and lastly, there is every reason to infer, that the prince alluded to was Indian, from the number of Hindi books mentioned in the catalogue, and in the list referring to the old chest aforesaid.

"If the above inferences may be relied on, we have reason to hope that the original and genuine text of *Tabarí*, the *Livy of Arabia*, may yet be recovered. It would seem that an ancient manuscript of it did lately exist in India, and is, in all probability, there still. As to its being the *autograph* of the author, I believe we are to take that expression 'cum grano salis' as we do the *originals* of Corregio and Rubens, &c., so very plentiful among picture dealers and amateurs.

¹ It runs thus,—*Fcrisht Khootab Khanna Ferzada Kolo*.

But whether the MS. here alluded to, be, or be not, the author's own copy is a question of minor importance. The main object is to rescue it, ere it be too late, from that state of obscurity in which it at present lies, and to that end I have been induced to lay this brief and imperfect notice of it before the members of the Asiatic Society. It is probable that some individual out of that learned body may be able to trace the history of the MS. catalogue here presented. The booksellers from whom I had it, could tell me nothing as to whence it came, or whose it had been.

"It would be tedious to notice many of the rare works mentioned in the catalogue; there are a few, however, which I cannot pass over. In page 11, we have 'The Mustafá Náma, in the metre of the Shahnáma, containing the history of Persia (or rather of Islámism) from Muhanmmad to Tahinasp of the Sufi family, amounting to 104,000 couplets, beautifully written, and ornamented with gold dust.' Such is the literal translation of the description given of this stupendous work, which is very nearly *twice the size* of the Shahnáma, and embraces a period of about a thousand years.

"Further on, among the works on Philosophy, Logic, and Rhetoric, are mentioned several pieces translated from Aristotle, Plato, and other wise men of Greece, all of which are highly interesting. There is also a Persian translation of the Makámát of Haríri, which would be invaluable in explaining many passages of that learned, but, to us, obscure writer."

To the above remarks, written nearly two years ago, I must now add my altered belief that the *Tarikh i Tabari*, mentioned in the catalogue, is nothing else than Colonel Baillie's MS. of the *Jámi al Tawárikh*. This I infer from the identity of the description given of both, and, above all, from the number of pictures agreeing in both. The doubts which I might feel as to the genuineness of Tabari's autograph, do not apply to the *Jámi al Tawárikh*. Tabari lived a thousand years ago; and Rashíd al Dín finished his history only as far back as a little more than half that period. That the *Jámi al Tawárikh* is really and truly what it purports to be, viz, the author's own copy, written under his own inspection, I have not the least reason to doubt, as I have seen manuscripts of an older date in as good a state of preservation. Should any of your readers feel sceptical on this point, they may easily satisfy themselves by carefully examining the hand-writing and paper, and comparing the same with others of the corresponding era.

D. F.